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18 JUNE 1976

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Michael Howard on Clausewitz

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Velikovsky, The Webbs, Sociobiology, Sartre

The lives of Kipling, by C. E. Carrington

Fiction: Mrs Jhabvala, Naipaul père

The 'Ulysses' facsimile

Cinema: 'Sixguns and Society'; Documentaries

Critics: Cleanth Brooks, W. K. Wimsatt, Harold Bloom



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Angela Lansbury
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2014年12月15日

Venus, by Jupiter!

By John North

Velikovsky Reconsidered
By the Editors of *Science*
John North and Jackson L. 17.50

The story so far: in 1950 Immanuel Velikovsky published *Worlds in Collision*, a book which has since been reprinted or loaned seven times. The book did not, as its supporters would have us believe, "shake the scientific establishment in its very foundations", but it did anger a number of establishment scientists, whose uncharitable reactions, suitably dramatized, have since been used to enhance the attractions of the Velikovsky thesis. This claim was, on the face of it, all too easy to comprehend. At some time before 1500 or a brilliant fiery object was expelled from the planet Jupiter, in order into a long elliptical orbit around the Sun. This object became the planet we know as Venus. Terrifying those who saw it crossing the heavens, it came close to the Earth to about 1450 bc, and as they passed through its comet-like tail our forefathers experienced such catastrophes as are reported by the author of Exodus—namely the plagues of Egypt, and all that.

As the comet's head came nearer, the Earth was caught in its gravitational and electromagnetic grip, so that the very axis of the Earth changed direction, while cities were laid waste and all manner of devastation was caused. The motion of the Earth was so disturbed that the world over left records of darkness persisting for an unnaturally long time, or of the Sun standing still—all according to geographical location. The night sky shone as the comet's head and its swirling serpentine tail exchanged colossal electrical bolts. And with an eye in the misty distance, when most of the Egyptians were no longer pulling their heads under the bedclothes, the Israelites slipped through the Red Sea, a sea created by the pull of the comet. The Egyptian army, not realizing that the comet was working for the other side, was not so fortunate.

A wholly series of close approaches followed, and the Earth was wreathed in a monstrous haze, mankind finding its salvation in the manna (mirabris) which fell from the sky. This food was essentially a sweet carbohydrate formed by bacterial action in the hydro-carbon-rich, petrol and so forth—of Venus's atmosphere.)

Some fifty years after the Exodus of the Israelites there was another approach. Again the Earth's axis was tilted, its surface was riven, cities were burnt and left, and the whole got the Comanches on the run. Many things were happening elsewhere in the world, but space is at a premium, and the old Testament story will serve to illustrate the drift of the Velikovskian thesis.)

Venus's next violent assignment was with Mars, who was pulled out of his orbit by her in the middle of the eighth century bc. Mars then drew close to the Earth, and another series of cataclysms followed. Ruins were founded, in 747 bc, with Mars as its god. Again the Earth altered course. In 721 bc a Martian approach shifted the Earth's axis yet again, and the year was lengthened somewhat. Mars' next approach in 687 bc, when a great thunderbolt passed between him and the army of Sennacherib, an army which was on no good outside the walls of Jerusalem. (Things were happening the world over, but nowhere so providentially as in the Middle East.) Again a tilt of the Earth's axis, and a disturbance of its rotation, "so the Sun returned ten degrees, by which degrees it was gone down", says Isaiah 38, viii. Or, if you prefer the *New English Bible*, the slant of the Sun went up ten steps on the stairway of Ahaz. If we are to take the Israelite account, we had better first decide which translation is right.

Again Mars and Venus did battle in the sky. It is all in the found in the *Book of Enoch*, written after 747 bc, no less than in records from the Far East and America. Mars was thrown out of the ring, and Venus became the Kivab planet we all know, with a near-circular orbit between Mercury's and ours. And that was that, and the world has been a relatively quiet place ever since.

Dr Velikovsky's *Worlds in Collision* was followed by *Agas in Heaven* (1951), *Earth in Upheaval* (1955), and *Earth in Upheaval* (1955). The first of the sequels proposed a radical revision of ancient history, in which the world was created by the destruction of ancient history. The second, a work by Dr Velikovsky now rarely mentioned by his followers, is that some 3500 years ago a comet struck the Earth, and the world was created by the destruction of ancient history.

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The Self and Salvation
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which degrees it was gone down", says Isaiah 38, viii. Or, if you prefer the *New English Bible*, the slant of the Sun went up ten steps on the stairway of Ahaz. If we are to take the Israelite account, we had better first decide which translation is right.

Again Mars and Venus did battle in the sky. It is all in the found in the *Book of Enoch*, written after 747 bc, no less than in records from the Far East and America. Mars was thrown out of the ring, and Venus became the Kivab planet we all know, with a near-circular orbit between Mercury's and ours. And that was that, and the world has been a relatively quiet place ever since.

Dr Velikovsky's *Worlds in Collision* was followed by *Agas in Heaven* (1951), *Earth in Upheaval* (1955), and *Earth in Upheaval* (1955). The first of the sequels proposed a radical revision of ancient history, in which the world was created by the destruction of ancient history. The second, a work by Dr Velikovsky now rarely mentioned by his followers, is that some 3500 years ago a comet struck the Earth, and the world was created by the destruction of ancient history.

Shaw's Moral Vision
The Self and Salvation
By ALFRED TURCO, Jr. In this lively, attractively written book, the entire Shawian corpus is shown to have compelling internal and intellectual coherence. Mr. Turco begins by exploring Shaw's pragmatism as it emerges in the Quincentennial of Shakespeare and goes on to shed new light on the ethical perspective of the early plays. After showing that Shaw's long essay *The Perfect Wagnerite* is of fundamental importance to the evolution of Shaw's ideas, the author analyzes the attempt to fuse pragmatism with moral idealism in the later plays. The quality of Shaw's thought, Mr. Turco maintains, has as much to do with his greatness as does his literary art. £4.45

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drama and apoplexy, and the remainder of the new volume more important than the poem's opening.

Part 2 of the collection is a study of the Velikovskian thesis, showing that, for example, the change in the Earth's axis during the time of the planet's passage through the tail of the comet is not, as Velikovsky claims, a "miraculous" event, but a natural consequence of the laws of physics. The book is a masterpiece of scholarship and insight, and it is a pity that it is not more widely known.

He goes on to pay homage to Stonehenge, and writes for the Moon, and all things are made to order for the celestial rearrangement. The book is a masterpiece of scholarship and insight, and it is a pity that it is not more widely known.

How do such people become so deeply involved in spinning new myths out of such tattered scraps of history? They can hardly be put in the category of those who are led through the mazes of the world's ancient cultures by a desire to find a new religion, or a new way of life. They are, in fact, people who are led through the mazes of the world's ancient cultures by a desire to find a new religion, or a new way of life.

This injured cry, which characterizes a true Velikovskian as well as a true Velikovskian, is not, as Dr Velikovsky would have us believe, a cry of pain, but a cry of joy. It is a cry of joy, for it is a cry of joy that we are at last beginning to understand the world as it really is.

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things. This is not his fault, any more than the manifold weaknesses of his supporters are his fault, but the science—if we except some of the cosmic geology—is still, none the less.

Part 3 of Velikovsky's *Reconsidered* is a series of articles aimed at showing that Velikovsky's story is, as far as the planetary orbits are concerned, astronomically possible. The book is a masterpiece of scholarship and insight, and it is a pity that it is not more widely known.

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drama of Velikovskian dimensions is made to hang on the translation of only a word in a phrase in most of the sources quoted, it is not enough to use unqualified editions, or translations, and by stilling their works would one day be subjected.

One can scarcely excuse Dr Velikovsky's ignorance of individual cultures on the grounds that he is acquainted with so many. He appears to be almost totally ignorant of the studies of the interdependence of the world's mythologies, although of course to reveal the connections would not help the thesis that the events described in the myths of the world are independent descriptions, associated with universal catastrophes. Even granted that he has a penchant for nineteenth-century texts, could he not have considered Mux Müller?

He seems to be completely unaware that when one author repeats uncritically a story from another, the number of authorities is not thereby increased. And can he really expect us to admit Jonathan Swift's allusion to the unseen satellites of Mars as relevant to a prehistoric state of affairs? Out of the same window should be thrown references to Hevelius, Korkenbach, Bochart, Pomponius Mela, and a score of other irrelevant accretions. The book would become shorter and more transparent, but we should have to lose the story which would be a pity, since this provides some of the finer patches of colour for *Worlds in Collision*, and thereby makes the book more bearable.

As for the oral traditions of sixteenth-century South America, who has to tell us that they are not the product of some earlier Velikovsky?

The answer to the last question is obvious. But why should the historian who is expert on this aspect of South American culture waste his time on the Velikovskians? He might as well try to explain the Mayan calendar to a South American football crowd. For no matter how cogent the complaint about the persecution to the course of their search for the truth, Dr Velikovsky and his supporters have shown no inclination to heed the balanced

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And as for the celestial scenes, when they are not vague or positively wrong, they are wildly speculative. They show a marked tendency to suppress the unpleasant, and to exaggerate the pleasant. Two or three examples must suffice. "And there was a thick darkness in all the land of Egypt three days" (Exodus 10, xxi). But was there not light where the crocodiles lived? Augustine wrote: "Minerva [Athene] is reported to have appeared... In the times of Ogyges." So much for the birth of Venus in historic times; but look to the source and you find that Augustus makes Mercury much later than Minerva—besides which he is talking about real human beings who were later deified, not about planets, by any stretch of imagination. Augustine also synchronized Joshua with the time of Minerva's activities. Again this is no model of honest quotation, for all that Augustus says is that between the exodus of the Israelites and the death of Joshua, caramonies were instituted by the Greek kings in honour of false gods. But who carries Augustine on a railway journey, let alone his Chinese, Indian, Mexican, or Babylonian counterparts?

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Nicholas Negroponte

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and the A.T. & T. Case

Phyllis A. Wallace, editor

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Jeanne O'Toole, editor

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Soft

The Sussex imprint

By Asa Briggs

All new countries are said to have their own imprint. Not all new universities, from their own presses. If they did, we would quickly need a qualification to say "Sussex" founded in 1961, was the kind of new university which wanted everything, but when it first discussed the idea of the Sussex University Press it was certainly not with a view to acquiring a new status symbol. A highly sophisticated academic community with strong international connections felt that it needed an outlet of its own for books and other published materials which had a distinct Sussex imprint. The curriculum was distinctive. So too was a cluster of research centres and institutes, most of them concerned with the contemporary world. Much stress was laid on the early discussion on "other published materials". Sussex courses and Sussex research projects were often genuinely interdisciplinary, and little was available to start or to sustain them from other publishers' lists. There were pressures, therefore, from inside the university, pressures which grew as the number of academics rose from nine in 1961 to 451 ten years later.

At the same time, the university proceeded very cautiously—largely for financial reasons—and there was no initial intention of publishing a journal or periodicals. There were three main preoccupations: that of funding a journal or periodicals; that of publishing a journal or periodicals; that of publishing a journal or periodicals.

All three preoccupations took up a great deal of time, but in each case what was felt to be satisfactory solutions were reached. Clutter and Wolcott became the "Furness" —the term is used to describe all Sussex University Press imprints—add a new company, was incorporated on December 31, 1970.

One of the first books on the first list was David Bates's *A Third World*, the sequel to his autobiographical *Two Worlds* which told of his life in the United States. A few people in the university saw either side of the Atlantic who have figured in as many publishers' lists as Professor Bates. The chairman of the publications committee was a theoretical physicist, R. J. Blin-Stoyle, and physicists were at least as interested in the whole venture as historians or economists.

The first list appeared in the autumn of 1971 on the occasion of the university's tenth anniversary. Some of the first books on it were the products of the university's institutes and centres. This alongside Professor Bates's private *Third World* the Institute of Development Studies offered two volumes on the "crisis in planning", the subject of a 1969 conference at Sussex where the Third World was present in strength. A number of books on this and later lists were the products of the Columbia interdisciplinary fashion with real-world problems in social psychology. *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* was one of the first books on the list along with *Unsettled Masses* by R. J. Blin-Stoyle. *Some S.S. Killers* by Chutro and Widdie but with Helmutmann. The editor, Norman Cohn, published in 1975 one of the most successful so far of all the books—*Europe's Inner Demons*. He, too, was an author with an international reputation.

The meetings of the publishers or of the publishing committee are different in style, if not in content, from those of seasoned boards and delegations, but the quest for publications inside and outside the university, the evaluation of submitted manuscripts and the detailed analysis of the accounts afford few

opportunities for radically different approaches. When Bates's *Liberalism and the Arts of Science* was a radical book, however, which has received as much attention in Latin America as in Britain, and Anthony Nutall's *A Common Sky* was the kind of philosophical literary study which could scarcely have appeared in all without the impact in such studies, which the Sussex curriculum presented and still presents. One book by John Fiddian and G. Lockwood, the latter the university's registrar, *Planning and Management in Universities*, has its origins also in specific Sussex experience.

It is perhaps this driving upon experience which has most distinguished the Sussex University Press, although the Sussex in the title has come to refer not only to the university but to the county. When the university acquired Virginia Woolf's house at nearby Rodmell, the collection of Woolf papers, and the most recent book to bear the imprint of the press, *Moment of Being*, edited by Jeanne Schulkind, consists of a fascinating collection of Virginia Woolf's unpublished autobiographical writings. The Woolf enterprise is not, of course, a monopoly of the Sussex University Press. Quentin Bell did not publish with it, and Chotko and Widdie have on old side themselves. To describe all the personal and intellectual work of the press as a Bloomsbury plot.

There are moments in the early years of a press when there is a fresh and engaging combination of enthusiasm and criticism. The existence of a press does not deal completely with the need for university authors, particularly young ones, to find outlets for their work. Nor does it guarantee that imaginative and scholarly work will reach a wide audience. More could be done with the informal and the informal which figure so large in all new universities. Nor are the interna-



Kitty prepares for her wedding: a wood engraving produced by R. K. Piskarev in 1932 for a Russian edition of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. The illustration is included in the British Library's richly illustrated *Tolstoy* exhibition at the British Museum (until August 30), which contains mainly of material from the Tolstoy Museum in Moscow and of personal possessions from Yasnaya Polyana, Tolstoy's country estate. This is a fascinating group of exhibits related to Tolstoy's six weeks in London in 1861, when he was little known outside Russia.

tional links as strong as they might be. Sussex has a lively school of European Studies which devours the output of foreign publishers. I doubt if there is any similar place where the output of the university press is so great. The university bookshop and university press are run separately at Sussex, and there is no sense of a press establishment. Yet there may be scope for quite separate forms of local enterprise. One of the most interesting new Sussex publishing houses, the Harvester Press, was created by one of Sussex's first graduates.

The economics of the press require very careful scrutiny. Portunore the university's planning committee has allowed the press, like other devoted units in the university, a very substantial degree of freedom to manage its own affairs, including its finances, over a period longer than a year. One

Defensive harmonies

By Helen Vendler

HAROLD BLOOM:
Poetry and Repression
Revisionism from Blake to Stevens
239pp. Yale University Press. £7.20.

This book completes Harold Bloom's efforts, begun in *The Anxiety of Influence*, and continued in *A Map of Misreading* and *Kabbalah and Criticism*, to map out a functional poetics of the lyric. While criticism of drama, and, by filiation, of the novel, must depart from Aristotle, criticism of lyric has conventionally been discussed as borrowed, the most unsatisfactorily, from the most invented to describe oratory, an art entirely different from lyric in conception, in purpose, and in effect. And it remains true that the figures of rhetoric, while they may be thought to operate in a more concentrated form in lyric, seem equally at home in narrative and expository writing. Nothing in the figures of paradox, or irony, or metaphor, or imagery—or in the generic conventions of, say, the elegy—specifically a basis in verse.

Consequently, there has been a good deal of difficulty in knowing what it is proper to say about a lyric poem beyond what can be said about human imaginative expression in general. In desperation, incompetent commentators have resorted to the most salient characteristics of the conventional lyric—its phonetic and metrical ground plans—singling out these aspects as the "form" of the lyric, while treating its "content" under various historical, critical, or metaphysical heads. The true generic history of the English lyric, and a corresponding history of essential distinguishing features of lyric expression, remain to be written.

It has always been recognized, in commentary on literature in general and the lyric in particular, that

authors draw on other authors. The extent of such borrowing varies, and its function remains a matter of debate. Students are told that "classical" conventions in poetry were revived in the Renaissance; that they were revived in the Augustan Age; that they were revived by the Romantics; that they were revived by Pound and others in the modern era. But these are descriptive statements, not functional ones.

A functional history of a poem would explain why certain conventions appeared suitable to the poet for use in this poem, why such modifications of the conventions appear were made, how the various conventions appeared in the poem function, with respect to each other and with respect to the tradition from which they were drawn, and the meaning of the sequence of conventional elements in the poem. This is a daunting task to assume for even one poem, and it is generally avoided (in favour of moral summary) except by the most acute, learned, and hardworking critics, whose pages pose these perpetual questions, and at least attempt some answers.

Questions about the function of traditional elements in a poem cannot occur unless the reader agrees that every word or element used is a choice against another word or element, and that to include A means the exclusion of B and C. This is a daunting task to assume for even one poem, and it is generally avoided (in favour of moral summary) except by the most acute, learned, and hardworking critics, whose pages pose these perpetual questions, and at least attempt some answers.

Professor Bloom's retortology has addressed itself to these questions of critical responsibility. The four books are aimed at an audience

which has read most of the canon of English and American lyric, and which remembers most of what it has read, so that on eddies will be missed. I am willing to grant all the objections to Professor Bloom's highly coloured prose, which Christopher Ricks has recently labelled "melodramatic", and also the objections which have been made to the rapid proliferation of Bloom's terminology. By my rough count there are now fifty or so "maps" of poetic process and product. Some of these are old (presence versus absence, fullness versus emptiness), some new (Anna Freud's mechanisms of defence, conflated for convenience into Bloom's magic total of six), some

These are indeed strange bedfellows to poetry in English. But it will

be remembered that Bloom has always wanted a theory to support his literary theory, from his initial use of Martin Heidegger in his first book to his present wish—understandable in anyone with imaginative hunger or impudence—to see whether we possess other ways of interpreting the cosmos besides our Platonic and Aristotelian ones. The fantasy-cosmos (as Bloom allegorizes it) found in the Lurianic Kabbalah, which includes God's initial contraction of himself to make a space for creation, a subsequent disruption of the creation or "breaking of the vessels," and a final "restoration" gives Bloom an imaginative model for what he has chosen to present as the patterns of all post-Enlightenment lyric—patterns in which speculation, and her Sixth, take on a suspicious resemblance to our old acquaintance Hegelianism in dense allusiveness, even if called by the Bloomian names of Limitation-Substitution-Representation.

In the incessant rhetoric of Bloom's prose, the fifty analytic terms and the fifty or so personae of Bloom's critical and poetic canon (ranging from Virgil to Derrida, from Milton to Ammons) play hide and seek, now obscured in Emersonian optimism.

Bloom's literary model for his chapters, the in-ferno, implies that his aim is to win converts to his way of seeing poetry. Though his terminology will not, I expect, be widely adopted, his notions are already exerting powerful influence (and even consequent anxiety, to judge by reviews). Because of Bloom, we can never again refer quite so complacently to "an allusion to" an earlier poet, nor can we speak of the appearance of "Miltonic" or "Keatsian" diction in a later poem without being put on our guard. Such intertextual echoes result, as Bloom has conclusively shown, from the many ways in which a poet manifests his struggle with antecedent style—a struggle which is varied, serious, continued, protracted, and profound, caused by the equal pressures of the apprentice's love (Keats's "Shakespeare and the Paradise Lost every day become greater wonders to me") and the adult poet's self-assertion (Keats's remark on Milton, "Life

Sleep-Talker

In the early hours of the puny day

Whose eyes still swim with dark

She slowly and quietly spoke,

But not to me.

The moon she spoke to was handsome—

She told him so—

I felt bound, on principle,

To disagree

But, in fact, I could not know

Since she was deep in sleep,

So whenever she was speaking to

I was unable to see.

It was in the cold hours before the sky

Had paled at all, that time

When the old and tired and unwanted

So often and so quietly die.

Vernon Scannell

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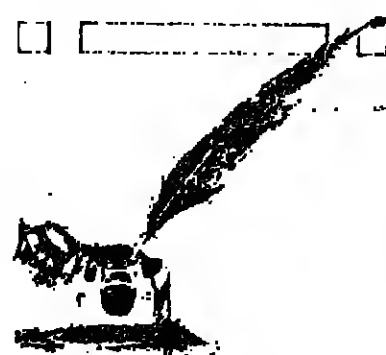
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Marking time behind the lines

By Norman Hampson

JOHN ROBERTS:

*Revolution and Improvement:
The Western World 1775-1847*
291pp. Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
£7.95.

Was there an antithesis, at the end of the eighteenth century and during the first half of the nineteenth, between improvement and revolution, or was revolution merely an expedient to which reformers were sometimes driven in extremis? John Roberts poses the problem in a couple of challenging paragraphs in his introductory chapter, only to leave it, not merely unresolved but unexplored. The most successful revolutionaries of the period were, on the whole, reluctant ones, who were thinking primarily of reform. The American colonists felt themselves driven to a breach with Great Britain that the great majority of them would have preferred to avoid. Robespierre regarded revolutionary crises like those of July 1789 and August 1792 as highly dangerous gambles. Not for nothing did he call his first newspaper "the Defender of the Constitution". He always inclined to prefer political struggles, where defeat was no more than a temporary setback, to violent conflicts in which failure might be definitive. The French "revolutionary" used the word to describe an institution rather than a man.

Nevertheless, the Revolution produced such radical changes and such messianic aspirations that they could not be accommodated within the limited perspectives of "improvement". When the revolutionary tide had turned, the contrast between the messianic and ideological to bequeathed to a new generation and the restored order of 1815 was so brutal, that future radicals came to believe that the "three objectives" would never be tolerated by those in power. They may well have been right, for 1789 and especially 1793 threw their shadow across the first half of the nineteenth century, at least in continental Europe, to discourage between those who saw progress in terms of a succession of half-measures and those who believed that nothing worthwhile could be done until the existing order had been forcibly overturned.

The Romantic movement added a new dimension to these political perspectives, with its glorification of revolt, rejection and defiance of every kind of human and divine authority. What came to seem most important was that purity, the totality of the rejection, rather than the ground actually won: "Eyes, donc, drages dédaignés!" This had, of course, started with the Revolution, but its main political consequences were not felt until the fall of Napoleon, himself the last Romantic of hard calculations, before his exile transformed him into a symbol and the focus of many irreconcilable dreams.

Barricades now became symbols, as well as military conveniences, "the republic" an end in itself rather than a portmanteau way of managing things, and revolution a vocation, if not yet a career. Mazzini, with his vision of an Italy reconstituted in a revolutionary act, was a symbol of the ideal, the great month, symbol of the improvement into the precious ore of a national mission, spoke for them all. They were all to go down in 1848, not merely because they lost the military battles, but because the Romantic ideals themselves were exposed as political phantasms.

There was a subject that no one was better qualified than John Roberts to explore with intelligence and sure judgment. This is what he promises, but instead of a Turner he gives us a photograph. It is a very good photograph; everything is in sharp focus, the picture is well balanced, the perspective panoramic and full of interesting detail, but the lighting is rather flat. At times this is a positive advantage. He is at his best when stressing how little, for the majority of the world's population and even for millions of Europeans, anything changed very much in the three

quarters of a century that he studies. This limitation runs through *Revolution and Improvement* and would, in his final note: "There was still a world where even the idea of change could be suspected."

This might have provided him with a contrasting viewpoint: on one side the world of the illiterate and illiterate, so difficult to penetrate except as statistics, but the survival of old habits, attitudes and social relationships in the France of Robespierre and the England of George Eliot, where change was something people tended not to happen to nice people. Mr Roberts is not much tempted by literary evidence and his is, by and large, a history of public events rather than of attitudes. What he gives us is a survey of the Western world that incorporates a formidable amount of recent research. He takes in the American Revolution, the new

The reduction of Paraguay

By C. R. Boxer

PHILIP CARAMAN:

*The Lost Paradise:
An Account of the Results in
Paraguay 1607-1768*
341pp. Simgwick and Jackson. £5.95.

The story of the Jesuit "Reductions" of Paraguay has exerted a strong fascination on both contemporaries and posterity, interest that is the equally enthralling story of the Jesuits in feudal Japan, 1549-1639. Cunningham Graham's *A Vanished Arcadia* (1901) is deservedly regarded as a classic, not replaced by George O'Neill's *Golden Years of the Paraguay* (1934); and as an introduction to the subject "Don Roberto's" book can still hold its own with Philip Caraman's more detailed and better documented work, *The Lost Paradise*. This author has made good use of the massive works of the Jesuit historians, Pablo Hernández (1908-13), Pablo Pastells (1912-46), and Guillermo Furlong (1933-71), as well as Magnus Mörner's *Political and Economic Activities of the Jesuits in the La Plata Region: The Hobsbawm Era* (1955) and a wider range of archival sources than was available to Cunningham Graham. Their respective conclusions, however, are much the same.

The Jesuit mission-towns or villages known as the Reductions (Reducciones) of Paraguay were not the unique phenomena that they are often represented as having been. Early Iberian colonial legislation sectioned the gathering of Amerindians in permanent mission-settlements, supervised by the Jesuits (or other priests) and the Jesuits had in the system in Brazil under the name of aldeias soon after their arrival at Bahia in 1549.

The Jesuit province of Paraguay at its greatest extent included not only present-day Paraguay and Uruguay, but the whole of the Argentine and parts of Bolivia and Brazil. The most successful and most famous missions were those among the Guaraní, with a total of some 100,000 people distributed between some thirty mission stations along and between the Upper Paraná and the Uruguay rivers in the sixteenth century.

By any standards, the Jesuits were astonishingly successful in "reducing" or domesticating the most varied Amerindian tribes, ranging from the relatively docile Guaraní to the fierce equestrian Apipones. Where they failed, as with the nomadic Patagons and Pampe Indians south of Buenos Aires, this was chiefly due to the misconduct or folly of the Spanish officials and settlers. Where they were successful, particularly among the Guaraní, this was largely because they received the support of the Crown in keeping the *encomenderos* at arm's length, and in limiting access to the Reductions to responsible individuals.

The Jesuits were often accused of authoritarianism, of keeping their converts in a state of ignorance, and of using

ecclesiastical means of the 1770s, the Enlightenment and enlightened despotism, the French and industrial revolutions, Napoleon and the combination of restored institutions and new ideologies that characterized the first half of the new century: liberalism, republicanism and socialism. Inevitably, not much space can be spared for any one of them, but even allowing for this, Roman Catholic gets very short shrift indeed. It is all done with great expertise and unobtrusively. He can criticize as well as understand and he has little time for the prudent religiosity of those who tried to annex Christianity as a buttress to social conservatism.

The result is something of a Grand Tour, which no doubt broadens the mind but sends the traveller back home with an album of pictures rather than a sense of

destiny. It is not Mr Roberts' fault if he acts as spokesman for an agnostic age. Those who subscribe to no historical faith that can impose a single transcendent pattern on the chaos of the evidence have certain advantages. They have a clearer vision than the believers and are less exposed to the temptation to distort or disregard what over does not fit. The penalty they pay is a loss of the urgency that goes with the passion to convert. They may well be right, but they have not much to teach us, except intellectual honesty as an end in itself and the past as something to be studied *per se*, and not as some kind of inspiration to action. Perhaps we cannot honestly aspire to anything more at the moment, but it would not have satisfied the great historians of the past. With all its many merits, this is history that is not going anywhere.

to extract vast wealth from secret gold and silver mines. The latter allegation was non-sensical; but his falsity was only evidenced when the Jesuits were expelled, and no treasures were found despite frantic and intelligent searching.

The former allegation may have more substance, though Fr Caraman does not think so. Yet the Jesuits over time to ordain a single Amerindian in their Paraguayan mission, although often boasting of their exemplary piety and devotion. Fr Caraman warmly defends his hy-

gonia co-religionists from the charge of undue paternalism, but his context show that he shores their view that the Amerindians had an ineradicably child-like mentality and that they were quite incapable of original work (pages 212, 222, 278 for example). On the organization and the economy of the Reductions he is very sound, but he has little to say of the work of his predecessors. He is particularly good on the use which the missionaries made of music, song and dance in converting their charges in the first place, and in keeping them happy and obedient in their daily and settled routine. The dramatic crises, such as the great exodus from the Guaraní missions in 1631, led by Ruiz Montoya down the river Paraná, when some 8,000 people perished; the Guaraní victory over the Luso-Brazilian slave-raiders and their Tupi allies from São Paulo

in 1641; the serio-comic Imbrolio with Bishop Cárdenas at Asunción in 1642-50; the Guaraní war against the combined Spanish and Portuguese armies in 1753-56; the tragedy of the final suppression in 1768 at a time when the missions were more flourishing than ever; all these and other developments are narrated with sympathy and skill.

Fr Caraman reminds us that there was often a high proportion of Germans, Flemings, and other non-Spaniards (including a few English and Irish) among the missionaries, particularly in the eighteenth century. He argues that these got on better with the Amerindians than did the Spaniards, who were inevitably associated with the rapidly and arrogantly of the *encomenderos* and the *encomendados*. As that is, it may be, it is undeniable that two of the best and most sympathetic accounts of the aboriginal tribes were by the Bohemian, Martin Dobrizhoffer, and the Tyrolean, Anton Sopp, from both of whom Fr Caraman quotes freely.

The illustrations, including some excellent photographs, are well chosen, and the sketch maps at the end are useful. Proofreading seems to have gone by default, the text being peppered with irritating misprints and misspellings, which should be corrected before the book goes into a paperback edition and falls into the hands of unwary students.

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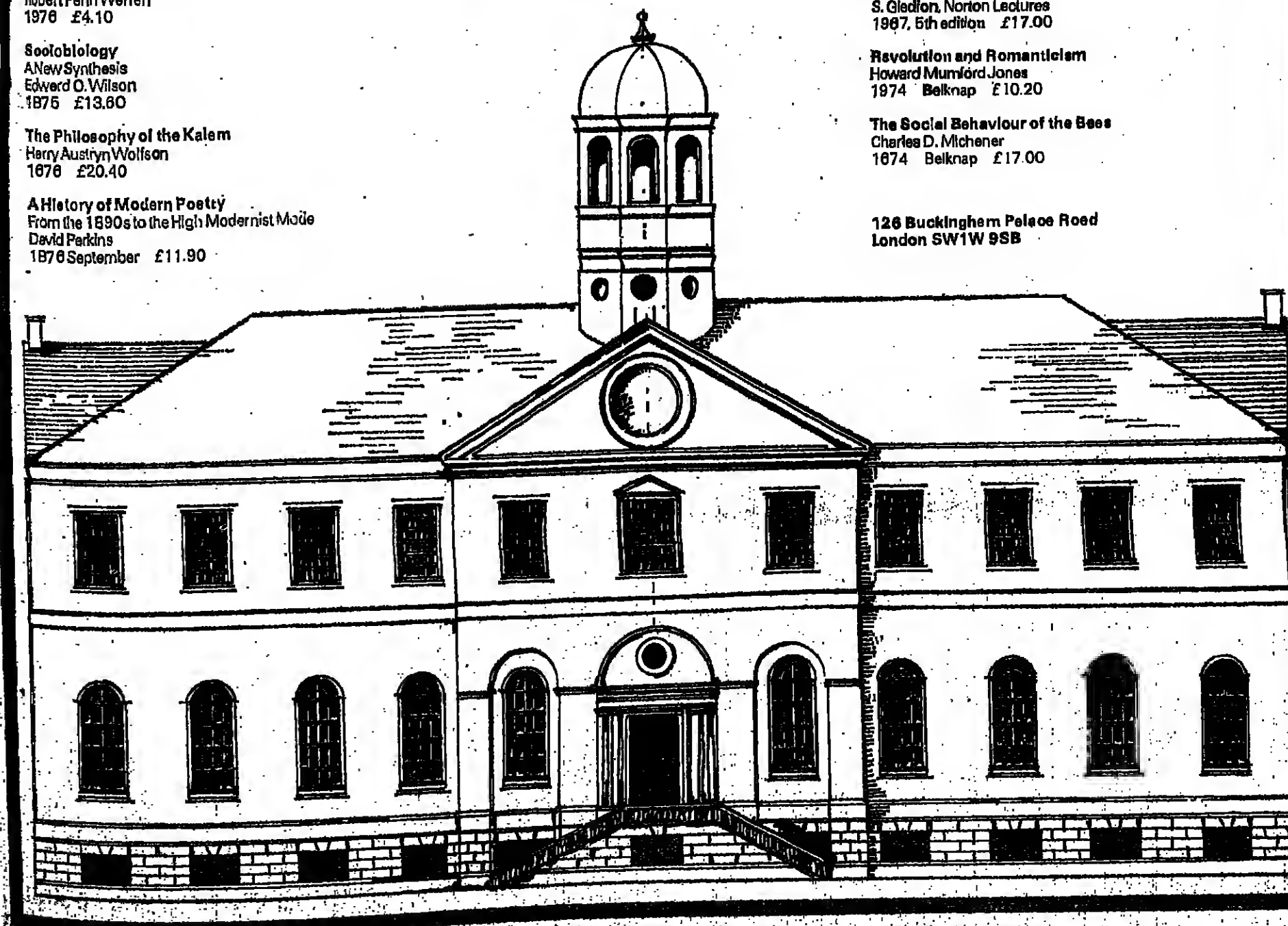
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Poetry and politics

By Claude Rawson

FRANK H. ELLIS (Editor):
Poems on Affairs of State
Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714
Volume VII: 1704-1714
732pp, Yale University Press, £17.50.
GEORGE DEF. LORD (Editor):
Anthology of Poems on Affairs of State
Augustan Satirical Verse 1660-1714
799pp, Yale University Press, £21
(paperback, £4.20).

With the publication of Volume VII, covering 1704-1714, the Yale Poems on Affairs of State becomes complete. The enterprise was mighty, and the results are handsome. It took twelve years between the first volume and the last, which comprises favourably with many unnumbered scholarly underpinnings (and there are, to the curatorial projects in which the curatorial of the textual materials, and the need for elaborate non-textual annotations, were greater). The years 1660-1714 now exist for the scholar in a new dimension. For no other period is the literary commentary on public events so richly available and so learnedly and conveniently presented.

This is appropriate, because the public events were momentous and the literature about them includes some of the greatest English satires. Literature and politics, moreover, existed in a peculiarly intimate relation. Many writers (Marvell, Prior, Defoe, Swift) played an active part, overt or covert, in the affairs of the state. And, in the earlier part of the period especially, when, as the general editor says, "the only newspapers were official government productions and public affairs were held to be almost exclusively the concern of the king in council," poems on political issues and events were an unusually important channel for a more public (if somewhat clandestine) circulation of information and comment.

The period embraces the restoration of Charles II and the reign of all the later Stuarts; it witnessed the Great Plague and the Fire of London, the passing of the Test Act, the emergence of Whig and Tory, the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Crisis, the Revolution of 1688, the battle of the Boyne, the foundation of the Bank of England, the military exploits of Marlborough, the pacifist union with Scotland, the rise and fall of Harley and Bolingbroke, the Peace of Utrecht, the succession. The literature, to mention only those poems which follow within the scope of the subtitle "Augustan Satirical Verse", includes the satires of Marvell, Dryden, Oldham, and Rochester, Garth's *Dispersary*, some powerful early poems by Swift, and most of Defoe's best work in verse. Defoe

emerges as a poet unjustly underrated, like Swift, and (different though they are) perhaps for similar reasons: the overshadowing excellence of his achievement in prose, in quality of hard-bitten unpolished vigour, a failure to conform with received notions (then and now) of what an Augustan poem should be like. One of the most important achievements of these volumes is that they give us the best annotated (and in some cases the only scholarly) editions of *The True-Born Englishman* and *A Humm to the Pillory*, as well as of Oldham's *Satires upon the Jesuits and Garth's Dispersary*.

These volumes also give us many lesser writings of considerable vitality which are difficult to come by elsewhere. And they provide exceptionally good facilities for studying minor poems in their contemporary context, by printing poems which formed the background of, or were written in response to them (for in the case of Marvell's satires, or Dryden's *Absolutism* and *Achilles and the Meddles*), by including a variety of works about the same historical event, and by supplying unusually helpful introductory remarks, detailed footnotes, and a rich collection of illustrative plates (e.g. *The Meddles*, of the Shakespeare medal by Boyers). In this, the Yale Poems on Affairs of State really goes beyond the standard scholarly editions of individual writers even literature and politics, as the commentary is indebted and even inferior to those editions.

Such interlarity is evident in the first four volumes, where the treatment of Marvell, Rochester and Dryden is naturally superseded by Legouis and Duncan-Jones, by Vieh, and by recent additions to the California Dryden. The commentary to the many Dryden poems in Volume I to IV is usually less full and also indebted (sometimes embarrassingly) to Kliney and other earlier scholars.

These Yale commentaries do not compete with individual editions, and in a sense do not need to, since the editions themselves exist. But a new standard is set in the later volumes, especially VI and VII, edited by Frank H. Ellis (Volume VI: poems not to contain poems by major poets who have been separately edited in a scholarly way). This role Dryden selected in VI is given a substantially fuller commentary than is to be found elsewhere, and supersedes all competitors to date. The same is even more dramatically true of Mr. Ellis's two selections from Volume VII (the Prior poems in Volume IV may be contrasted with this: the commentary is at best marginally fuller in places, and usually less full, than that of Wright and Spenser, to whom it is indebted). The commentary is so full, and the editing so good, that it is a pity that the editor's introduction, sometimes introducing error, while the earlier editors were accurate).

The great strength of the commentary, throughout the series, is that, in a series of this sort, it ought to be in the detailed provision of historical information, of day-to-day background to the poems, and in the identification of countless persons (from minor local officials in major national figures mentioned in the poems). If the historical material supplied by these literary scholars is as accurate as it is detailed, it contrasts oddly with the recent treatments of the literature of this period by professional historians who, with one or two honourable exceptions, have seemed not only deficient in literary understanding, but deserted by their own professional sense of fact.

Paradoxically, it is on the literary side that the commentaries show obvious weakness. There is a tendency to gloss terms which no user of these volumes is likely to find difficult (e.g. *volunt*, *morv*, *andrew*, *treym*, *shmyor*, *Zouls*), and to register tenuous verbal parallels with other poems, often later than the one being annotated, and which would throw little light even if they were less tenuous. At VII, 23, 31 and elsewhere, for example, alleged parallels from the Dunciad are adduced for a poem of 1704, where the two passages might have a single word like "Throne" in common. One of the most interesting examples of this is the last line of the poem of 1704, which is, on the other hand, unnoted, although, ironically, a comment by Lord Horvay himself on the victim of the earlier portrait is cited in the notes.

In some later volumes especially, there are self-indulgent exorcises in literary analysis which would be inappropriate in an edition of this sort even if they were better done. At VII, 233 ff, we are given some footling bits of literary exegesis of Defoe's "Scots Poem" (surely a reader can decide whether or not the poem lacks "energy and high spirit"). "Address to the Reader" is omitted. An even grosser example is the five-page preamble to Prior's *Ode, Humbly Inscribed* at VII, 174 ff.

While Prior's own preface is omitted, we are treated to unnecessary facts about his life, presumably for something in his soul, and to disquisitions on the fortune of Spenser's reputation and Ben Jonson's view that Spenser "writ in no language" (the excuse is that Prior adopted a modified Spenserian stanza; an actual quotation from Spenser in the poem itself, page 179 line 10, is unnoted), on the rhyme scheme (A B A B etc.) on later poets (Oslen, Collins, Keats, Keats), and so on. The whole is introduced by the remark that Prior's poem "encourages some speculation on the way an English Augustan poet went to work", but that is one thing



"Seated man holding a portfolio": a French drawing of about 1780 by Francois Andre Vincent, one of the old master drawings to be sold at Christie's on July 6.

we learn little about. Meanwhile, the essential historical background to the poem (its raison d'être in the volume) occupies a small fraction of the space.

In both these instances, unnecessary preamble use space that might have been occupied by omitted portions of the primary text (from which the editor, as though adding insult to injury, might offer quotations within the preamble itself or in the commentary). When we remember that the whole series is a selectively selective (Volume VII prints seventy-five poems from over 1,000, and the series as a whole gives less than 15 per cent of the total of 3,700 poems considered), the squandering of space becomes even more disturbing. It is ironic that this problem arises more acutely in the later volumes, whose annotations on matters which are generally more controversial tend to be fuller and better, so that the excesses are the reverse side of a powerful virtue.

The task of selection, irrespective of whether one feels that more poems might have been printed, was clearly very difficult. The respective claims of literary merit, political or historical interest, popularity, influence on other poets, opinion, coverage of events, representativeness (of types of poem, of factional points of view, etc.) had to

be met, and variations of emphasis occur from volume to volume. The problem of whether to reprint important poems readily available in the collected works of their authors is dealt with inconsistently. Volumes I to IV give *Marvell's*, both carefully selected, and *Achilles*, and *The Meddles*, as well as writings connected with these by other poets. Volume IV gives material relating to *The Hind and the Panther*, but not the poem itself. The case could be argued either way, but Volume IV is much the nearest in the series (120 pages fewer than the next shortest, Volume I, 450 pages fewer than the longest, Volume VI), and perhaps the most carefully executed. A register of the poems omitted was to be included in one of the volumes, but the nearest we come to this is that some individual volumes give some first lines of some of the poems not included in that volume. And there is so far no comprehensive index for the series as a whole.

Most of the poems appeared anonymously, often in manuscript only and in more than one manuscript. Problems of attribution do not always resolve to the satisfaction of other scholars, notably in the case of Marvell, although the treatment of Defoe in Volume VI has received the accolade of J. R. Moore) as well

of textual authenticity were especially acute. The textual history of radical modernization of spelling, punctuation, and other editorial matters has been controversial since its start. I have no expertise in this field, but I have been most impressed by those who, like G. K. Evans, have pointed out the objections to an early stage of a significant work. The editor of Volume VI and VII has decided to retain the accidentals of the copy on the grounds that most of the copy texts were printed versions of the original, and that the use of the original is a false economy. The textual apparatus throughout is highly selective and so usefulness is severely impaired.

Some questionable practices exist in the treatment of partially blanked pages and "obscure words". In the former case, the blanks are filled, even though an attribution is controversial; in the latter case, the editor does not necessarily dispense with the need to refer to a footnote anyway.

For "obscure words", the blanks are not filled: this is right when it reproduces the original, but a reader of Volume IV implies that the original is a blank (a blank in the original appears to have been inconsistent anyway). No doubt variations were inevitable in a project spanning several years and involving so different editors. The commentaries remain very impressive.

On page 179, the implication that Marvell's *Scots Poem*, insinuating that he could only be painted out as a traitor, is misleading, not only because Pope's lines appeared in 1704, but because very similar words were used in Dryden's *Persius*, 1.231-4. Mr. Ellis would have discovered it had used the *Twickenham* edition

in citing Pope (and the sentiment is more fully, and rather disparagingly, elaborated in Dryden's "Progress of Satire" 1694: page 188, "silver Thymes", a common formula (with classical prototype, used in *Mac Flecknoe*, line 48, *Rape of the Lock*, 1.14 and elsewhere in Pope, as well as in Spenser, Jonson, and others (it also appeared at V.285); page 189, the story of Cadmus sowing the teeth of the dragon out of which armed men grew up should probably have been explicitly noted here (the allusion to the story of Tantalus on page 66 is also unnoted, but perhaps more justifiably); page 190, Prior's description of Anne as our "softer King" seems an idiom in the sonnet style as Pope's description of Morthe Mount as "Heaven's last best work . . . a softer Man" (combining the virtues of both sexes). On page 215, unnecessary and misleading *zuss* is made of the phrase

The misogynist's manifesto

By Prue Shaw

G. BOCCACCIO
The Corbaccio
Translated and edited by Anthony K. Cassell
194pp, University of Illinois Press, (AUPG), £4.80.

Boccaccio's *Corbaccio* is a curious work. Written in all probability immediately after the Decameron, it was certainly his last work of fiction, and it seems to be a satire on the manner in which he was treated in his masterpiece. Tested of a profound sympathy for women and a humane championing of female sexuality, we have a violent anti-feminist diatribe, strident, humorous, and at times near-hysterical.

The Decameron had drawn freely on the anti-feminist tradition: the lustful man and the deceitful wife are recurring figures in the tales. But here Boccaccio carries their characters to the extreme. The themes were handled with a lightness of touch which suggested that the author was delighted by the artistic potential of the misogynist tradition. The *Corbaccio* is not only extremely violent in its denunciation of women's lust and greed, it also seems to be in a deadly earnest.

The traditional explanation for this apparent shift in attitude is that the work is autobiographical. Boccaccio, so the theory goes, enraged by the behaviour of a widow who was indifferent to his attentions, took revenge by writing a work which attacked her personally and more generally showed the imperfections of womanhood and the futility of sexual love. The rejection of love, the book attempted to settle the score.

travelling down, which is a quite remarkable application of a normal sense of humour; page 241, a gloss for *Terra Incognita* would not be out of place; page 271, line 879-80 may be included to recall Milton's "New Presbyter is but old Priest writ large"; page 289, the English for *Torino* is Turin; page 126, line 37, of Lady Winchilsea, "to my little wit the literature in me" ("Aurelia's Answer to Epiphila", line 12); pages 393 and 439, must would seem, in addition to the literal suggestion of burning, to be an early example of the meaning "severe or merciless ridicule", otherwise first recorded in 1726 (OED); page 451, "Cloud dispelling love" is not just a mock-epic detail, for Zeus normally gathers clouds; but a punning reversal of a specifically English wording of the Homeric formula, "Cloud-compelling Jove" (Dryden, *First Book of Homer's Iliad*, line 544, and *passim* in Pope); page 478, "*Resperant Pippin*", cf. Swift,

Paras. of William, 1.154, 1.56; page 554 "*Putable Gold*", a medicinal and alchemical term, common in the 16th century; *Henry IV*, IV, v, 161-2 and *Paras. Lost*, III, 108 etc.; page 57, line 584, the "just" about Pontic perhaps in the explanation for these "English Wits" who know no Greek, although it should be obvious to users of this volume.

To coincide with the completion of the series, George D.F. Lord has edited an *Anthology of Poems on Affairs of State*. This is a generous selection from the parent volumes, with a handsome helping of explanatory material. There is a skillfully executed and attractive general introduction, which oddly (in the sense of a scholarly collection of satires) is ironically attributed to Juvenal's *difficile est satiram non scribere* to Horace. The non-specialist student will find much that he cannot easily get elsewhere; a good selection of material per-

sonal to the *Medal* (including the reproduction of *Howett's medal*) and some to *Absolutism* and *Achilles*, to supplement his reading of Dryden; texts of *Waller's Inscriptions* to a Painter, Defoe's *True-Born Englishman*, and other important poems not easily accessible.

Some material which would have given the volume particular usefulness in the non-specialist is omitted (in favour, I believe, of lesser things): *Satires upon the Jesuits*, *The Dispersary* (although Blackmore's *Satire Against Wit*, purely an answer to *The Dispersary*, is included), *A Humm to the Pillory*. One could argue endlessly about points of selection, but these seem glaring examples. There are quite a few misprints and minor errors (pages 177, 219, 445, 491, 516, 534, 607). But in the whole this is an excellent anthology, and at £4.20 quite remarkable value for money in its paperback form.

sible not to be continuously aware as one reads that the experience Boccaccio is describing is offered as some kind of parallel to the experience described in the Comedy.

It is all on a far more modest level, of course, in scope and execution, and some of the details are decidedly bizarre. The role of Dante's Virgil is taken on by the Corbaccio by the dead husband of the widow who has spurned the protagonist; he betters than he to reveal to the rejected lover all the faults of the lady and to show further that these are characteristics of her sex.

The confused and contradictory emotional stances of the work, convincingly analysed by the translator in his introduction, make strange comparison with the moral and intellectual rigour and consistency of the Comedy. The book is a once upon a time and too vindictive to reconcile with its ostensible moral aim: it is all too eager to insist that the lady can expect her comeuppance ("She is to have her share of the worst good . . ."). And a point made more than once—that the protagonist's sexual potency is unimpaired in spite of his forty-plus years.

Whether the book marks a strict religious conversion, as has sometimes been assumed, is impossible to establish, but it is difficult to doubt that it marked a major personal and artistic crisis. That the Corbaccio signals a definitive abandonment of fiction on Boccaccio's part and line the last literary work he wrote is a possibility which is modelled on the Comedy. What the two works share, he argues, is the same to their common origin in the dream-vision tradition. But the text presents a tissue of verbal paradoxes. Dante's poem (Mr. Cassell dismisses these as "natural to a writer imbued with the language of the *sonnetto* poeta"), and it is impos-

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